681 flicts and illegal acts which brought official action were few (outside of property suits, which are not considered here). The following is the calendar of cases placed on the records from October 9 to December 3.

[683] October 9. A man knocked down a child and hurt her head. He was placed in jail overnight.

681 October 12. A man was drunk and disor-
689 derly. He was placed in jail (no term indicated).

October 15. A man was drunk and disorderly. He was placed in jail overnight.

October 16. A drunken man broke onto a house. He was placed in jail until the eighteenth.

October 22. A woman was "disobedient" (probably disorderly conduct of some sort). She was placed in jail overnight.

681 November 3. A man raped a young woman,
[684] his second offense. He was placed in jail until
[183] the 10th. It should be observed that according to Cherán ideas a properly brought up girl whose parents looked after her as they should would never have been in a situation where rape would be possible.

[685] December 3. A man "abused confidence" by trying to register a piece of land as his own which actually belonged to his mother-in-law. He was put in jail overnight.

The above cases do not include those which involved fines of less than one peso nor cases which came before the judge.

579 Despite the fact that Cherán has a bad reputation in other towns for violence, there seem to be relatively few serious fights. Drunks often fall to fisticuffs, usually ineffective, but knife fights are rare and the use of firearms is even more unusual. In ordinary times there is probably not more than one killing a year. However, a very serious affair occurred shortly before the close of the study.

At a wedding the new priest appeared after the drinking was well under way. He reproved the people soundly for their excessive drinking and urged them to go home. One of the men, who was already very drunk, took the priest's words to heart and started home. Crossing the bridge to the *barrio* of Parícutin, he was shot from ambush and killed. That night the *ronda* went from house to house asking for certain persons, but up to the time the study closed

585 marriage manager]. The first act of this person is to arrive at the house of the parents of the bride, saluting them very respectfully, and immediately falling on his knees, accompanied by the parents of the groom and various other persons most near to the father [especially the brothers and sisters of the groom's father]. Then the marriage manager says a Catholic prayer, making reference to the marriage of Joseph and Mary, how it was, and that thus it is necessary to effect the marriage they propose to bring about. This act completed, he offers a cigarette to the offended party [that is, the father of the bride]. If the latter receives the cigarette, it is an indication that he does not find the marriage undesirable. If he does not receive it, it is an indication that he wishes to be begged with many favors to give his consent, but finally he always gives his consent. [Because if he did not, the girl would be returned to her parents and no one would marry her. The girl's father is often very annoyed. He may scold his wife for letting the daughter be stolen and he often refuses to receive the boy's relatives for several days, going off and hiding in the mountains in order to show his anger and to cool down a bit.] Immediately [on giving his consent] the father of the bride calls together all his neighbors and principal relatives, others [602] coming by themselves later. This reunion is with the [273] object of drinking with the bride's father, for the parents and companions of the groom have brought a quantity of liquor, until all are very drunk, which concludes the first ceremony. The marriage manager reminds everyone to await them again within 8 days, that is to say, that they [the groom's relatives] will return within 8 days.

Eight days after the first ceremony, both the father of the bride and the father of the groom assemble all their relatives. Four or five days before they are notified so that the relatives of the groom will each prepare a quantity of bread costing not less than 1 peso and not more than 5 pesos, while the relatives of the bride make tamales with chile and meat of the kind we call nákatamali. Once the day arrives, all [437] assemble in the house of the parents of the bride and begin to exchange. The parents and relatives of the groom give 4 or 5 pieces of bread to all those of the other group. The latter in their turn give 6 or 8 tamales, continuing until all the bread and tamales have been given away. [Each relative of the groom gives [273] bread to one or more of the relatives of the bride in accordance with his wishes.] This affair also ends in drunkenness. During all this time the bride has been left at the house of the relative in whom the groom has most confidence, but this day she is brought to be present at the function.

The following day after the function referred to, [217] the couple present themselves at the civil registry to make their application to marry, accompanied by the closer relatives. The authorities notify them to present themselves within 8 days to effect the civil marriage. [183] [This represents an ideal case. Often the application for marriage and the civil marriage may not occur for

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[183] weeks or seven months. In at least one case the religious marriage took place before the civil marriage, although on the same day. However, the priest normally refuses to perform the service unless the certificate of civil marriage is presented. The relatives accompanying the couple are parents, uncles and male first cousins of the groom, the parents and close relatives of the bride, and the godmothers of the groom and the godmother for the wedding. The latter stands by the couple when the legal formula is read by the secretary or the mayor. All the relatives sign the papers as witnesses. Sometimes the secretary or mayor makes a little speech, pointing out to the husband that now he has to support his bride and can not expect her father to go on supporting her. He also may deliver a homily on behavior, pointing out that a married man shouldn't have two women or a married woman two men, warning them to avoid divorce, etc.]

After following the course indicated by the authorities, the proper steps are taken for the religious marriage. On the vespers of the day of the marriage they celebrate the t'irénkua or the dance. For this the parents of the bride hire a band with the object of going to the house of the groom with the music to take him the clothing called Aríperata, or gifts, which consist of a pair of shoes, two or three pairs of trousers (*calzones*), three shirts, and a hat. The cost of this is divided by the godparents and relatives of the bride in this way: one pair of trousers, a shirt, and a sash from each of the two godfathers of the bride and the rest from her father. The groom is dressed in this clothing by the grandfathers, grandmothers, siblings, and first cousins of the bride. [One of the latter actually dresses the groom. The groom is called tembuča and his siblings and cousins of both sexes are called tembučas. Similarly, the bride is called tembunga and her siblings and cousins are called tembungas. The female tembučas give the female tembungas narrow colored ribbons or bands to wear in their hair.] Immediately the dressing is completed, the musicians play some regional tune and the groom has to dance, with which ends the affair of the gifts of the groom. [Atole is sometimes brought to this function also. The custom seems to be decaying.]

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On the day of the wedding the parents and godparents of the groom, together with the grandfathers, uncles and cousins, are those charged with going to the house of the bride very early in the morning when the bells ring the first call to Mass to take her clothing also, that is to say, the Aríperata. [The bride has returned to her own house a few days before the wedding. During this time the groom may visit her freely.] This consists of three rebozos, a shirt and blouse, earrings, *corales* (red glass beads), sash, and a pair of shoes. The cost of these is divided as follows: one rebozo from each godfather, these being the blue rebozos of Paracho, and the father of the groom a very fine white rebozo [it is not actually white but one of the remarkably fine mixed color rebozos from Tangancicuaro, costing anywhere from 20 to 80 pesos] and all the other

764 handful of earth on the coffin in the form of the cross before the grave is filled. The arches decorating the table are placed over the grave. There are no prayers or other ceremonies and the party leaves immediately after the grave is filled.

The body of an adult is watched through the night with candles; this night watch is attended by many more people than in the case of an infant and atole made of rice and brown sugar is served at midnight. The corpse is dressed in black clothing of the type worn in life. Nothing is placed on the head. A candle is placed in the hand of the corpse but no flowers. The clothing is prepared by the nearest relatives, the godparents taking no part in the funeral of a person over about 14 years of age.

In the morning the visitors and mourners are served beans and tortillas. At noon it is obligatory to serve broth, čurípo, and white tamales, kurúndas (although these are regarded as injurious to the digestion). The food is all prepared by relatives of the wife. The body is taken to the graveyard in a wooden coffin and is carried by four male relatives. A few people take the body first to the church, but generally it is taken directly to the graveyard. In any case, there are never any prayers at the graveyard. As in the case of a child, all the prayers are in the house, usually with the aid [767] of a professional "prayer" or *rezador*. The priest is never asked to officiate, although he may have been summoned while the person was dying. The body is buried in the family plot (but a woman is buried in the plot of her husband's family). In the case of both adults and children a small stoppered *olla* of water is placed at the head of the corpse but outside the coffin. There are no flowers, but each mourner carries a candle.

One evident contradiction between theory and 183 practice was observed. Numerous informants 764 insisted that there was never any music for funerals of adults at any time. In actual fact, several funerals were observed in which music played in the house almost the entire day of the funeral.

765 In some cases, the interment ends all mourn- 767 ing. In others, the family hires a *rezador* to come to the house every afternoon for 9 days to pray. The members of the family join in

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775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.
Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to
775 so that they will kill one's enemy. This takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

128 An outline of Tarascan folklore and main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

821 Harmful natural elements are consid-
776 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The
[823] volcano was made by the Devil, as something bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

183 The material which is of more interest to our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 havior against the interests of a certain class or institution.

(*a*) Among the behavior which is considered bad, we find activities which are harmful to the social body in general without regard to special group interests. Thus, drunkenness is incited by the Devil. He leads drunkards to disregard friends and family and to quarrel. The dead as a [775] consequence of drunkenness go to hell. In the same way, fighting is incited by the Devil and both the killed and the killer are doomed.

Behavior against the family and disapproved sex relations loom large under this heading. Rebelliousness against the [773] father (God, in this case) in the creation myths caused the Devil's damnation. Killing the father equally dooms the murderer in one story; and one of the causes for the outbreak of the volcano in Parícutin is said to have been punishment for a patricide which had happened there. Disobedience toward parental authority is also condemned in a prodigal son type of tale.

Deserting one's wife and living with another woman bar entrance into heaven. In a story where a man agrees to lend his wife to a friend, they are taken away by the Devil. Marriage between brother and sister among the mountain spirits occurs in one story, and their son is half snake, proof of his devilish nature. When blessed, they disappear amidst thunder and whirlwinds.

[773] Cain, by killing his brother Abel, caused the flood in one creation story. The *llorona* is the spirit of a woman who killed her son; she is condemned to wander on earth crying for her baby.

Failure to become godparents (*compadres*) according to proper custom is punishable by having to look for the other person after death in order to perform the ceremony. Similar punishment awaits the woman who does not take proper care of her children; she will have to do so after death.

Sex is a powerful bait the Devil uses to trap his victims, although not quite bad in itself. Thus the Devil appears as a seducing woman to draw men into the woods; or when a boy goes to see his sweetheart in the night, the Devil takes her form to catch him. A boy who used love magic powder loses his heart (*i. e.*, soul) to the Devil.

Disobedience to the father, killing the father, deserting the wife and living with

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183 another woman, lending one's wife, marriage between brother and sister, killing a brother or a son, failure to become *compadres* according to custom, not taking good care of children—such are the sins against the family.

754 Witchcraft is learned from the Devil by selling him one's own soul or even one's children's. Consequently, witches are doomed to hell and all their activities are definitely evil; they make people sicken and die, they ask for the help of the devils, and they deal sacrilegiously with the church.

183 (*b*) Behavior against special interests or groups, which is considered evil in Tarascan folklore, can be arranged under two main headings: (1) that relating to money and property; and (2) that relating to the Church and organized religion.

(1) All the evil associations of money come out very clearly in the very common theme of the man who sells his soul to the Devil, money being the main cause for his doing so. The same moral is found in other stories: In a number of tales, a poor girl's marriage to a rich man leads only to her damnation. The cupidity of the people of San Juan Parangaricutiro in connection with the pilgrims to their fiesta leads to their destruction by the volcano of Paricutin. The priest who wants to keep the money a boy found and took to him to be blessed is turned into stone. Those who do not fulfill promises regarding inheritance find their failure to do so an impediment to entering heaven.

The bad association of money is thus clearly established. Poverty, work (richness and idleness go together in Tarascan world view), and resignation are the good qualities opposed to those associated with money. "If you marry a rich man, you will not love God; you better marry a poor man and think always of God." Marrying a rich man "you profit only for a while and then you have to pay for it in the other world." For the rich, it is good to give away property. Beggars will speak favorably to God. In the story of the rich man who gave corn to the poor in times of scarcity, God rewards him by making him the spirit of rain.

This censure of wealth and praise of poverty, however, form but one aspect of the attitude towards property. Certain tales clearly stress, on the contrary, the rightness of property, and damnation is brought to whoever dares attack it. In one

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

[775] Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Parícutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

183 (2) Much material deals with the wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

688 Failure to fulfill obligations toward God brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

183 688 as a beggar loses his wealth. He who fails to make a promised pilgrimage dies in an accident. The man who does not pay for the mass he promised Saint Francis is sent back to earth after his death so he will fulfill his pledge.

A number of cases refer to Carácuaro, a place in the Tierra Caliente the Tarascans visit very often, where a famous Christ is venerated. The pilgrim who gets tired on the road and gives up the trip remains behind enchanted on a mountain. The woman who complains about the heat and does not want to go on, and the dancers who danced before they reach the town are punished by being turned to stone.

The punishment of sacrilege is a common theme. The revolutionary colonel who beats the Christ of Carácuaro becomes very sick and cannot die until he asks for pardon. The landowner who tries to dissuade his peons from going to church is burned with his cigarette. The men building a movie house in Pátzcuaro where formerly a church stood are subject to fatal accidents. Sacrilegious behavior of the agraristas is the cause of God's sending the volcano to Parícutin. According to different stories, they destroy a cross, steal the Holy Host, or throw an image of Christ to a bull.

The blessing given by the church is essential. Everything which has not its [778] approval (blessing) is bad: animals which have been created by the Devil and not by God or the saints, and which consequently have not been blessed — coyotes, snakes, the fish taken from a pool which has not been blessed; money coming from the Devil; and of course the non-baptized.

[773] The same theme occurs in myths. People [172] who lived before the blessing of the world are bad; their ruins are haunted places and their idols are devils. Enchanted people are devils and have to be blessed by a priest before becoming normal beings.

183 Thus, Tarascan religious ideology and folklore primarily sanction the values of 771 the folk culture. They support the family (understood in terms of local culture), attack witchcraft, defend private property and the proper observance of the folk religion. In their defense of poverty can be seen a defense of the Indian way of life. The money economy imposed from the outside is a disruptive influence in the village community, creating conflict within it or the loss of land to outsiders. The [776] Devil giving money always appears as a

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well dressed non-Indian (*catrín*). The traditional sponsorship of religious festivals (*cargos*) also disrupts the social order in the villages because of their rôle in impoverishing the sponsors. The Devil steps in to get the carguero's soul by providing the money he needs to hold the festival. The folk value of cargos prevails, however, as the saint proceeds to save the carguero.

In so far as Tarascan religion is part of the national religion, a certain national social order and certain institutions are also supported. Adherence to the priest and to the dictates of the Church indicates such an endorsement of the church's national rôle and the social order which it supports. The moment there are anticlerical groups considered devilish because of their opposition to the Church, the whole weight of this body of belief is brought against them.

Similarly, defense of property, which in terms of local culture is defense of small property, can become support of a national order based on large property (as in the story defending the hacienda owner). Sanction of poverty can mean defense of the Indian way of life against intrusion, but viewed nationally, unequal distribution of wealth is sanctioned by virtue of poverty and the social order based on it.

Tarascan ideology, then, sanctions the traditional folk culture, but conflict with the outside is evident, and the fact that the folk culture is part of a wider society means that a certain national order is also sanctioned.

B. SUPERNATURAL SANCTIONS IN SOCIAL CONFICT

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In previous chapters we have examined the agrarista movement and its anticlerical character. This anticlericalism resulted on the one hand in the agrarista's connection with the national anticlerical government from which he expected to receive lands, and in the opposition met in the Church itself, which was nationally opposed to the agrarian reforms. On the other hand, the main local cause for the agrarista anticlericalism was the cargo system for the local cult organization, which exacted too much from the Indians and was in many cases responsible for the loss of their lands.

We also gave the reasons for opposition to the agraristas and for their decline in villages where small landowners prevailed, and the following success of the Catholic reaction. Within this reaction the trend

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668 against the traditional cargo system is again discernible, although this time under 798 the cloak of a more orthodox Catholicism. Thus people are divided according to their appreciation of some cultural institution: for cargos (traditionalist) or against them (agraristas and some militant Catholics); for the Church (traditionalists and militant Catholics) or aganist it (agraristas).

Since the ethical religious ideology sanctions those institutions thus in conflict, let us see how supernatural sanction of political groups is evidenced in folk narratives.

183 Corresponding to the general anti-agra- 668 rista trend, we find in the tales use of the good and evil theme in order to prove the wickedness of the agraristas. A number of experiences in which people see the Devil take place in towns where the agraristas dominate, doubtless a reflection of the connection between the two evils.

At the time of our stay in Jarácuaro, the level of the lake was falling, leaving considerable extensions of land dry. At that time in Ihuatzio, which is strongly Catholic, an agrarista group was formed to get this land for themselves instead of sharing it with the whole town. News soon reached Jarácuaro that the Devil had been seen in Ihuatzio. The following market day in Pátzcuaro brought more complete news:

[539] [776] "In Ihuatzio they saw the Devil. He came out of the mountains and he crossed the town through the center. He looked like a human, but had feet like those of donkeys. The people wanted to hit him, but they were not able to reach him. They say he came out because many have now become agraristas. In order to get the land at the lakeshore the town has split."

A similar story is told of another town:

539 "This is what happened to a man from Tócuaro when agrarismo was so powerful. This man remembered an errand he had to do at Pichátaro and he left; this was about eleven o'clock at night. He went down right to the road and there he saw a man on horseback. They greeted each other: 'Good evening.' 'Good evening.' 'Where are you going?' 'To Pichátaro.' 'I am going to Puácuaro. Shall we travel together?' 'All right. Let's go.'

"'Where do you come from?' the stranger asked. 'I come from Tócuaro, and you?' 'Well, I am here and there, sometimes in Tzurumútaro, sometimes in San Pedro, San Bartolo or Puácuaro; those are the towns where they like me best.' 'And what about Tócuaro?' 'No, you don't like me at all; you have there an old